

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 DHA-02 AID-05 IGA-02 OMB-01
TRSE-00 ACDA-07 /080 W
-----121731Z 013437 /44

O R 121635Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3831
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY QUITO
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2028

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT PGOV SHUM CI
SUBJECT: GOC PEGS DISSOLUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES ON CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATIC "SUBVERSION"

REF: SANTIAGO A-17 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: THE GOC HUNG ITS DISSOLUTION OF THE REMAINING
POLITICAL PARTIES IN CHILE (SEPTTEL) ON INTERNAL CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATIC (PDC) POSITION PAPERS WHICH IT CONTENDS ARE SUB-
VERSIVE. THE PAPERS, DISTRIBUTED IN 80 COPIES TO SENIOR
PDC FIGURES, PROPOSE ALTERNATIVE MEANS FOR ACHIEVING A
PEACEFUL AND GRADUAL RESTORATION OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT
IN CHILE. BOTH URGE ACTIVE MILITARY -- BUT NOT PINOCHET'S --
PARTICIPATION DURING THE TRANSITION AND BOTH REJECT -- WITH
SLIGHTLY VARYING DEGREES OF INTENSITY -- WORKING WITH
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COMMUNISTS. THE GOC ALSO IN EFFECT BLOCKED THE PUBLICA-
TION OF A PROJECTED PDC-ORIENTED MAGAZINE AND A BOOK BY
EDUARDO FREI THROUGH AN ADMINISTRATIVE DECREE REQUIRING
PRIOR APPROVAL TO PUBLISH OR IMPORT ANY PRINTED MATTER.
END SUMMARY.

2. IN A BRIEF FORMAL STATEMENT TO THE MEDIA MARCH 11,

SECRETARY GENERAL OF GOVERNMENT GENERAL HERNAN BEJARES GAVE THE MEDIA COPIES OF PAPERS THAT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS HAD CIRCULATED EARLIER IN THE YEAR AMONG 80 PARTY ELDERS. THE DOCUMENTS PRESENTED THE POSITIONS OF MAJORITY (ZALDIVAR) AND MINORITY (REYES) CONTENDERS FOR PARTY LEADERSHIP, FOR A DECISION BY THE MEMBERSHIP (FOR SUMMARY, SEE PARAGRAPH 6 BELOW). BEJARES SAID THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S FIRM POLICY OF RESPECT FOR THE MEDIA AND ITS DESIRE THAT THE PEOPLE BE FULLY INFORMED, SENIOR EDITORS HAD BEEN ASKED TO REPORT THE CONTENT OF THE POSITION PAPERS TRUTHFULLY, OBJECTIVELY AND ON A TIMELY BASIS. IN EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS FOLLOWING THE STATEMENT, BEJARES EXPANDED ON THE GOC'S CONTENTION THAT THE DOCUMENTS CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED THE SUBVERSIVE INTENT OF THE PDC AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY TO SULLY CHILE'S NAME ABROAD.

3. AS INSTRUCTED, THE MEDIA GAVE PROMINENT PLAY TO THE DOCUMENTS, REPRINTING OR READING EXTENSIVE PORTIONS OF THEM. ALL ACCOUNTS ACCEPTED THE GOC ASSERTION OF THE PARTY'S SUBVERSIVE INTENT.

4. IN A RELATED MOVE, CHIEF OF THE SANTIAGO METROPOLITAN EMERGENCY ZONE, GENERAL ROLANDO GARAY, ISSUED BANDO 107 ON MARCH 11. THE BANDO, AN ADMINISTRATIVE DECREE BASED ON EMERGENCY AUTHORITY WITH FORCE OF LAW, REQUIRES THE GENERAL'S PRIOR APPROVAL FOR THE "FOUNDING, PUBLISHING, EDITING, DISTRIBUTING, CIRCULATING OR SELLING" OF ANY NEW "NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, PERIODICALS, AND PRINTED MATTER
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IN GENERAL." IN ADDITION THE ZONE COMMANDER'S APPROVAL IS REQUIRED FOR THE IMPORTATION OR SALE OF A"ALL KINDS OF BOOKS, PAPERS, MAGAZINES, AND PRINTED MATTER IN GENERAL." THE BANDO PROVIDES THAT THE NATIONAL SOCIAL COMMUNICATION OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PRESIDENCY WILL RECEIVE APPLICATIONS FOR NEW AND IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS. IT GIVES THE OFFICE A FREE HAND IN DETERMINING WHAT INFORMATION WILL BE REQUIRED. (COMMENT: THE NEW BANDO OBVIOUSLY AIMS AT PREVENTING THE APPEARANCE OF THE PDC'S PROJECTED NEWSWEEKLY, "HOY," AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF EDUARDO FREI'S LONG-HERALDED NEW BOOK. US PUBLICATIONS SUCH AS "TIME," "NEWSWEEK," ETC., WILL PRESUMABLY REQUIRE REGISTRATION.)

5. A CONFIDENT OF THE PDC'S LEADERSHIP TOLD US LATE MARCH 11 THAT THE PARTY FEARED THE GOVERNMENT HAD DECIDED UPON ITS DISSOLUTION. THIS WAS NOTE THE FIRST TIME THAT THE PDC HAD COME TO US WITH "HARD INFORMATION" ALONG THE SAME LINES -- SIMILAR REPORTS HAD COME UP PRIOR TO

THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE COUP IN SEPTEMBER AND PERIODICALLY BEFORE THAT. AS A RESULT OF THESE EARLIER FEARS, THE PARTY HAD SOUGHT TO DIVEST ITSELF OF MUCH OF ITS REAL PROPERTY. HOW EFFECTIVE IT HAS BEEN IN THIS REGARD WILL BECOME CLEAR IF THE GOC MOVES FORCEFULLY TO IMPLEMENT THE CONFISCATION AUTHORITY NOW APPLICABLE TO THE PDC UNDER THE GOC DECREE LAW DISSOLVING THE PARTY.

6. COMMENT: BOTH REYES AND ZALDIVER WROTE THEIR POSITION PAPERS KEEPING IN MIND THE CERTAINTY THAT COPIES WOULD FALL INTO THE HANDS OF THE GOC. WE THINK IT LIKELY THAT THEY WERE KNOWN TO THE GOC SINCE SHORTLY AFTER THEIR DISTRIBUTION IN MID-JANUARY. THE GOC'S ASSERTION THAT COPIES WERE OBTAINED FROM VENEZUELA VERGES ON THE INCREDIBLE. IT CANNOT BE AN ACCIDENT THAT THEIR DISCLOSURE, AND THE STEPS THAT HAVE FOLLOWED, TAKE PLACE ON THE 3-1/2 YEAR COUP ANNIVERSARY DATE OF MARCH 11.
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SANTIAGO 2028

7. NEITHER OF THE TWO POLICY PAPERS CIRCULATED BY THE PDC AS PART OF ITS INTERNAL POLL IS SUBVERSIVE UNDER ANY NORMAL USAGE OF THAT TERM. BOTH THE PAPER REPRESENTING THE VIEWS OF ANDRES ZALDIVAR, WHO HAD BEEN INTERIM PRESIDENT OF THE PARTY SINCE THE RESHUFFLINGS IN OCTOBER 1976, AND THAT OF TOMAS REYES, INTERIM FIRST VICE PRESIDENT OF THE PDC AND SPOKESMAN FOR THE ORTHODOX LEFT WING, URGE PEACEFUL MEASURES TO TRANSFER POWER TO TRANSITIONAL REGIMES. ZALDIVAR'S CONCRETE PROPOSALS (WHICH WERE ACCEPTED BY 64 OF THE 79 RESPONDEES) REJECT CLOSE TIES OR CONNIVING WITH THE COMMUNISTS. REYES IS FUZZIER ON THIS POINT (HE FAVORED SOMETHING CLOSER TO THE POLICY OF "CONVERGENCE" WITH THE MARXIST LEFT AS DESCRIBED IN REFAIR), BUT STOPS FAR SHORT OF SUGGESTING ANY FORMAL ALLIANCE WITH THE PCCH.

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8. INDEED, THE MOST STRIKING ASPECT OF BOTH PAPERS LIES IN THEIR APPEAL FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND CLOSE, ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT OF THE MILITARY IN THE GOVERNING PROCESS FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.
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Message Attributes

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